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ABSTRACT

This document discusses policy analysis of nonformal education by defining terms and then applying them to the specific case of Bolivia. A definition of policy is proposed and policy analysis is discussed in terms of political analysis and institutional analysis. The necessity for nonformal education is explored through historical background and current need, 13 characteristics of nonformal education are listed, and a graphic presentation showing the relationship between nonformal education and general socioeconomic development is included. Policy sectors and policy arenas are defined, and nonformal education is discussed in terms of a policy arena. Policy analysis of Bolivian nonformal education is discussed in terms of the present political configuration, current distribution of educational goods, and the aspirations of the Bolivian elite. Evaluation of the success of nonformal education in Bolivia is made through examining Bolivian national policies, institutions and their capacities, media, grassroots organizations, and governmental support systems. It is suggested that the document may be useful to those interested in comparative and international education through its definition of policy and its relationship to public concern and the distribution of power within a society. Two tables supplement the analysis, and notes and references are appended. (LH)

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A POLICY ANALYSIS OF NONFORMAL EDUCATION: THE CASE OF BOLIVIA

H.S. Bhola

Abstract

A definition of policy is proposed and is used in delineating the process of policy analysis. Policy analysis is seen as consisting of two concurrent analytical processes: a political analysis for an examination of the political implications of proposed policy; and an institutional analysis for weighing the capacity of existing and planned systems of action for the implementation of proposed policy.

The recent explosion of interest in nonformal education is noted, and nonformal education is seen potentially as being a significant policy arena.

A policy analysis of nonformal education in Bolivia is then undertaken in two parts: A brief sketch of the present sociopolitical configuration in Bolivia is presented. This is augmented with a depiction of the current distribution of educational goods within the society. A statement of aspirations of the Bolivian elite for the Bolivian society is then developed, analyzing the role assigned to nonformal education in the actualization of this social vision. The second part of the analysis presents an evaluation of the possibilities for implementing policy initiatives. Considering that the policy intentions of the elite are genuine, would the existing and proposed systems of action actually have the capacity to deliver nonformal education to client groups and communities for whom it is intended?

What is Policy?

'Policy' is a loosely used word that covers anything from trivial directives, discretionary actions, rules, regulations, to significant legislative enactments and important executive and judicial initiatives.

Policy will be defined in this paper as a statement of intent by the elite of a society in regard to directing and harnessing social power for new social outcomes.[1] There is merit in this political definition of policy in so far as it puts policy back in touch with publics; and relates policy making directly to public concerns. This political definition does indeed exclude from the area of policy and policy making those prescripts for goals and actions that do not intend, anticipate, or relate to alternative distributions of power, statuses, and goods within communities and societies. It thus helps in distinguishing between governing policy[2] which is concerned with creating new social outcomes in terms of new distributions of power, statuses, and goods; and institutional policy[3] which is concerned with creating new institutional capabilities or with redesigning existing institutions for the achievement of the social tasks assigned to these institutions by policy makers.

This definition of policy is rooted in a model of cultural action[4] and change that sees cultural action and

change as resulting from elite initiatives in the affiliation or the exclusion of the masses from the elite generated and elite controlled systems. Cultural action is further analyzed as a dynamic interaction between the power elite and the contending elite selling their different social visions to the masses. Consequently, the process of policy formulation is seen as involving development of initiatives in cultural action and design of systems of action to implement those initiatives.

What is Policy Analysis?

Phrases such as policy formulation, policy development, policy making, policy analysis, policy assessment, policy review and policy evaluation have all been used by students of policy studies and by policy makers themselves. In this paper we use the phrase policy analysis synonymously with the analytical examination of the calculus of means and ends of a policy initiative before a policy is implemented. The phrase policy evaluation (or policy assessment) has been used to cover an examination of policy impact, intended and unintended, after a policy has been in effect during one or more appropriate episodes or cycles of policy implementation. Phrases such as policy formulation, policy development, policy making and policy review when used in this paper refer to the totality of the processes that policy makers engage in to come up with their enunciations and declarations of policy directions.

The elaboration of the process of policy analysis as presented below is a logical deduction of the definition of policy as a design for directing and harnessing social power for social outcomes. In other words, policy analysis is an analysis of the goodness of intent and the possibilities of actualization. Policy analysis is thus seen as consisting of two concurrent analytical processes:

1. political analysis, and
2. institutional analysis.

Political analysis

Political analysis of policy is centered around one basic question: What will be the new distribution of social power in the society and what will be the accompanying distributions of statuses and goods? Some related questions would emerge. Will the new distributions intended to be brought about mean greater social justice? What is the language of justification being used in the enunciation of policy? Does the new policy take in view the existing legal structures? Are some special interests being served by the new policy or is the policy meant to increase the greatest good of the greatest number of people? Is the policy offering only partial affiliation to the erstwhile unaffiliated or is it offering them full affiliation in the system offering them real participation in political structures, improved sense of personal and social worth and more equitable share of economic and cultural goods?[5]

Such political analysis may include also an examination of the political behavior of the policy making elite. Are the elite genuine about their policy initiatives or are these initiatives merely taken to fulfill the symbolic needs of the society with the full knowledge that these policy initiatives will not be followed through? Is the new policy rooted in the overall national aspirations? Does new policy relate to policies previously stated in other related sectors of the society?

In democratic societies, the processes of policy making may be as important as the policy products. One may ask the question: What were the processes involved in discussion of policy, in building of consensus, and in decision making in the formulation of policy?

Institutional Analysis

The institutional analysis of policy is centered around this basic question: Is it the intention of the elite making policy declarations to harness social power by creating appropriate organizations and other systems of action thereby to make alternative social outcomes possible of realization? Here, again, a set of related questions can be asked? Do institutions exist that can implement new policy initiatives? If no such institutions exist, can new organizations be created? Do resources exist for creating such institutions and for funding them appropriately for them to produce the needed services to create new social outcomes? Are existing

institutions likely to be supportive, inhibitive or neutral to the launching of new organizations within the institutional space of a society?[6]

Nonformal Education: The New Hope

There has been an explosion of interest recently in nonformal education in all parts of the world and especially in The Third World. What is the chemistry of this explosion? Three different elements can be identified. First, was the realization that universal formal education even at the primary school level was impossible in most societies of The Third World. Philip Coombs' book, The World Educational Crisis[7] documented the predicament. The demographic explosion had heaped millions of children on the educational scene that needed seats in elementary schools. There were no schools; there were no school teachers. More importantly, there were no resources for implementing policies of universal elementary education even if it was possible to build all the needed schools, and to train all the teachers needed.

Second, was the realization that the formal educational system was creating byproducts that were socially and politically undesired and even dangerous. A forceful, and persuasive analysis of the consequences of schooling is included in Ivan Illich's now celebrated book, Deschooling Society.[8] Whether one agrees with his solutions or not, his analysis has made many educators face up to some important

facts. The school does produce more failures than it produces successes. It does perpetuate and reinforce a class system that is inherently unjust. The political implications of schooling have at last registered on the consciousness of the political elite in The Third World. They have discovered that university graduates, going through the system with expectations of well-paid jobs and middle-class respectability, were a dangerous commodity when frustrated in their expectations. And frustrated they were! They were on the streets in India, in Venezuela, in Indonesia, and now even in the United States. Even the primary school leavers of Tanzania, Kenya, and Nigeria were a problem. Education, and more education, as a solution had to be rejected.

A third element in the chemistry of the explosion of interest in nonformal education has come from the realization that educational inputs were indeed part of the developmental process but those inputs were not being provided by formal education.[9] What were those educational inputs? These were: information about family planning, agricultural and health extension, administration of cooperatives, skills for participation in local government and general social awareness. These educational inputs were needed <u>now</u>, on the farm, in the factory, and in the home.

Nonformal education was rediscovered.

What is Nonformal Education?

What is nonformal education? Kleis et al[10] in a paper written for the Program of Studies in Non-Formal Education of the Michigan State University proposed this definition of nonformal education:

> Non-formal education is any intentional and systematic enterprise (usually outside of traditional schooling) in which content, media, time units, admission criteria, staff, facilities and other system components are selected and/or adapted for particular students, populations or situations in order to maximize attainment of the learning mission and minimize maintenance constraints of the system.

They then go on to provide 13 different characteristics of nonformal education (NFE) as follows:

1. NFE is not likely to be identified as "education,"
2. NFE is usually concerned with immediate and practical missions,
3. It usually occurs outside of schools (at learning sites),
4. Proof of knowledge is more likely to be by performance than by certificates,
5. It usually does not involve highly organized content, staff or structure,
6. It usually involves voluntary participation,
7. It usually is a part-time activity of participants,
8. Instruction is seldom graded and sequential,
9. It is usually less costly than formal education,
10. It usually does not involve customary admission criteria,
11. Selection of mentors is likely to be based more upon

demonstrated ability than on credentials; and voluntary leaders are frequently involved,

12. It is not restricted to any particular organizational, curricular or personnel classification; and it has great promise for renewing and expanding any of them,
13. It has potential for multiplier effects, economy and efficiency because of its openness to utilize appropriate personnel, media and other elements which may be available in a given situation without concern for externally imposed, often irrelevant and usually expensive criteria and restraints.[11]

But how is nonformal education different from:

1. life-long education,
2. community development,
3. rural development, and urban development,
4. adult education,
5. agricultural extension,
6. health extension,
7. family planning and family education,
8. literacy, especially functional literacy,
9. communication, and
10. conscientization?

Some, not without good reason, would ask the same question about youth programs and military service.

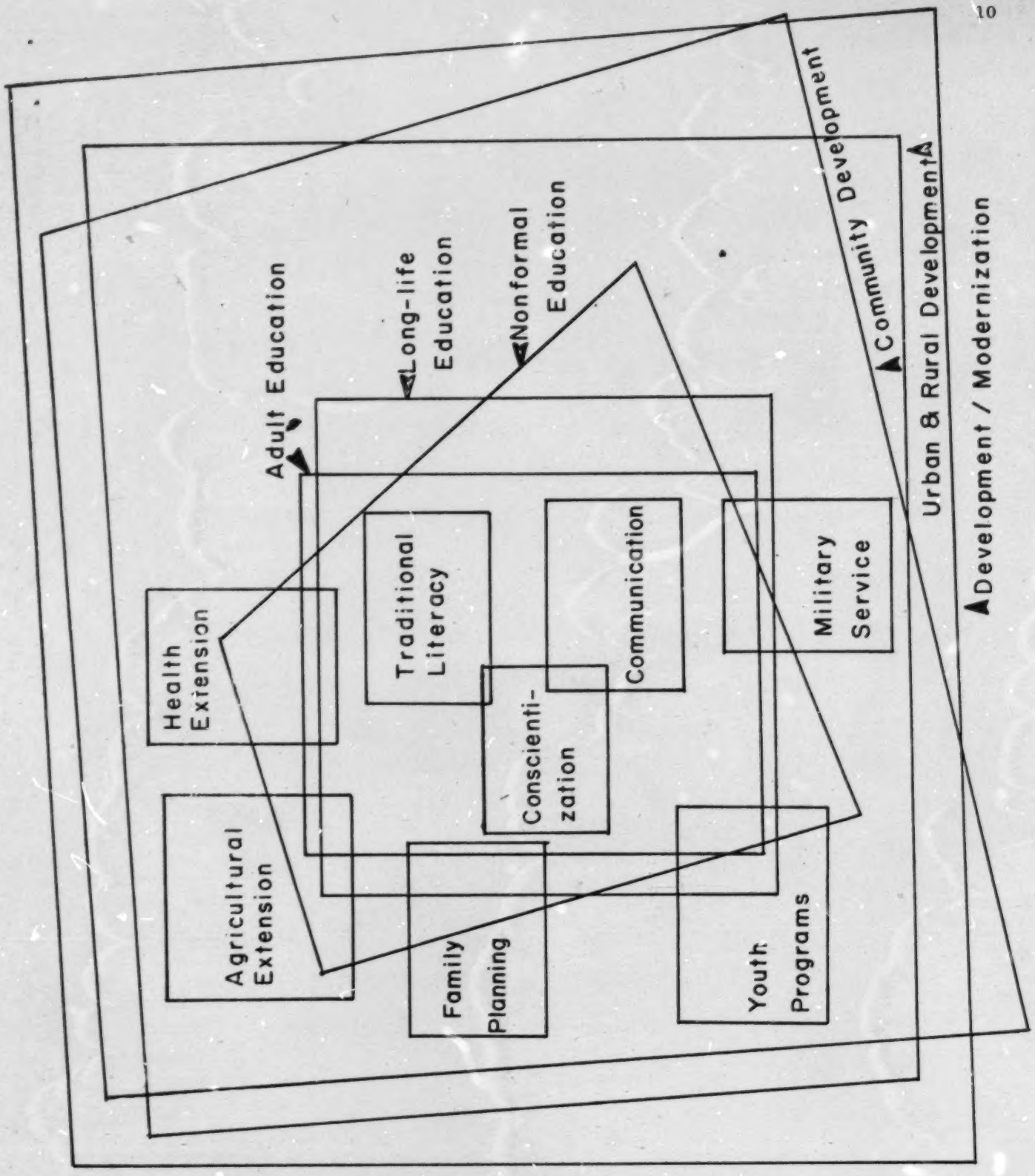


Figure -1: A graphic presentation showing relationships between various nonformal education and extension activities and socio-economic development and modernization.

One could reproduce here the typical definitions for each of the above program areas and show how the various definitions do overlap with each other. In Figure 1 we have attempted a geometrization of mutual relationships between these program areas. We look at life-long education, adult education and nonformal education as names for activities that are almost congruent. The programs generally labelled as functional literacy, communication and conscientization form part of most nonformal education programs. We look at health extension, family planning, youth programs, agricultural education and military service as activities that do have an educational component but which are not all educational. They additionally involve provision of services and material and technological inputs. However, the educational component of these programs can be seen as nonformal education. Together these programs could be viewed as community development programs or urban and rural development programs which together add up to the total effort for development and modernization.

With this definition of nonformal education we must ask the next question: Is nonformal education a policy arena with its own integrity and which could be analysed as a separate entity?

Policy Sectors and Policy Arenas

The concepts 'policy sector' and 'policy arena' should be useful for ordering and defining the complex world of

policy analysis, and reducing analytical problems to manageable proportions.

Policy Sectors. The policy making elite can indeed effect the lives of publics in a society in different ways. The leverage for redistribution of power, of statuses, and economic goods may lie in creating new patterns of schooling and higher education (that is, in the educational policy sector); in new organization of agricultural credit, crop insurance and land distribution (that is, in the agricultural policy sector); or in industrial production (industrial policy sector). A policy sector thus may be defined as a first-order subsystem of a society with its own network of institutions and systems of actions, its own set of social and physical technologies, and its own clients or special relationships with client groups in the society. Education, Agriculture, Industry are different policy sectors.

Policy Arenas. Each policy sector may, however, have multiple policy areans. Thomas R. Wolanin in a paper delivered at the Indiana University Educational Policy Conference in 1974 described a policy arena as follows:

> A policy arena is characterized by a set of legislative and executive branch actors and institutions and lobbying groups whose efforts and attention are focussed on a substantively coherent cluster of policy objectives and programs. The substantive coherence of a policy arena is frequently reflected in legislation which constitutes the basic charter for the arena.....
> .....

> (T)here develops in each policy arena a fundamental consensus on goals for ... policy in that area, the means that should be employed in attaining those goals, and the nature of political relationships through which policy making should occur. This political culture of a policy arena sets the boundaries for policy making choices and forms the baseline from which new policy evolves.[12]

The preceding definition of a policy arena as proposed by Wolanin is, however, a definition that is anchored at the federal level of policy making in the United States. It is rooted in assumptions that are culture-bound. A more general definition may be suggested as follows: A policy arena is a special sphere of policy actions within a policy sector; seen by the elite and the counter-elite in a society as effecting the affiliation/exclusion networks and schedules of some particular publics or of all the publics within a policy sector; involving a particular set of competing and collaborating actors -- individuals, groups, institutions, and communities; who may be promoting different sets of goals and means rooted in different ideologies or different shades of the same ideology; resulting in a political culture that is specific in some ways only to that particular policy arena.

Is Nonformal Education a Policy Arena?

Nonformal education as the description of an enterprise has problems on two counts, in terms of its ascription to a policy sector and being definable as a policy arena with clear-cut identity. For example, there are problems about

placing nonformal education exclusively within the educational policy sector. As we have tried to demonstrate in Figure 1, included elsewhere, some programs of nonformal education -- agricultural extension, to cite one example -- have more than one component to them. These components may be educational, distributive, managerial and may, additionally, involve material inputs. Similarly, there are problems about considering nonformal education as a policy arena as well. The following questions must be asked: What are the special policy actions of the enterprise called nonformal education? Whose affiliation/exclusion networks and schedules does nonformal education influence or is likely to influence? What are the elite individuals, interest groups, and special institutions that are involved in the policy making and in the questioning of policy? What are the ideological underpinnings of the elite and the counterelite interested in the policy outcomes of nonformal education? What is the culture of the nonformal education policy arena? Problems with clear-cut answers should not hide the fact that if nonformal education is not now a policy arena, it is potentially one of the most significant ones. If a policy of nonformal education is honestly persued in a society, it will minimally involve a new distribution of educational resources. Illiterate adults in rural and urban areas will, for the first time, get a share of educational budgets and not continue to perpetuate their own lack of privilege by supporting formal education of stronger sections of the society.

More importantly, nonformal education will distribute among adults knowledge that will be used by them now, in the factory and in the field. This will not only generate greater incomes but also improved statuses, and possibilities for participation in the political processes. That would be nothing short of a revolution which both radicals and conservatives seem to consider as the great possibility of our times.

The Case of Bolivia

In the case of a country like the United States where a policy analyst has a plethora of data available to him, his problems are likely to be of choice and interpretation. Even in a country like India extensive statements are made in regard to policy purposes, there are records of discussion surrounding the statement of policy and there is data available on policy implementation. In such cases the job for a researcher is to read between the lines, get the insider's look, and question, in some cases, the evidence on implementation and impact of policies produced by interested parties.

An analysis of nonformal education in Bolivia, however, has to be a speculation with insufficient data. Perhaps, the only form in which policy statements are made in Bolivia are Presidential decrees. These decrees do not always include "Whereas" statements. That is, they do not

include in them, the language of justification for the policy decreed. There is seldom any public discussion of the pros and cons of policy before it is decreed. The policy formulation process is both centralized and hidden. Again, data about the universe to which policy relates is unavailable in a country which had not had a population census since 1950. Seldom is data created on the implementation of policy; and when created is not used.

Bolivia: The Sociopolitical Configuration

We now address ourselves to the task of developing a sociopolitical configuration of Bolivia, emphasizing particularly the present distribution of educational goods within the Bolivian society. A statement of aspirations of the Bolivian elite for the Bolivian society will then be developed and an analysis undertaken of the role assigned to nonformal education in the actualization of this social vision.

The emphasis on the sociopolitical perspective in the following profile is appropriate. Policy is a political matter and deals directly with the distributions of power, statuses and goods within the society. In developing this configurational map for Bolivia to study the dynamics of policy formulation and change, we would do a structural ordering of the reality (a sort of power analysis) and a time ordering (that is, bring to bear on contemporary realities a sense of history).

Bolivia a country lying in the heart of South America is described as "a beggar sitting on a throne of gold." The euphism points out two things -- Bolivia has great mineral wealth lying under the ground and it has distorted social (and technical) structures so that it is unable to put that wealth to the service of its people.

All societies, even those that are proud of being democracies, have differential distributions of power within. Power carries with it differential statuses and economic rewards. In Bolivia, too, power is differentially distributed. However, through the accidents of history in Bolivia the distribution of power has come to be anchored in the ethnic distribution of the population in the country. The ruling oligarchy comes from one racial group and the oi poloi, the masses, are the indigenous Indian populations. While no census has been taken in Bolivia since 1950 the following demogrpahic ratios are shown in some of the government documents.

Ethnic Group	Percentage of Total
Quechua	36.52
Aymara	24.55
Autochthonous	2.51
Spanish	35.06
English	0.05
Other	0.41
Urban	29.56
Rural	70.44
Total	100.00

Figures for the total population have varied from 4,931,200 to 5,062,500. A five million population figure seems reasonable to work with.

The Profile of Privilege and Poverty

As we have suggested before there is not enough hard data available on Bolivia. What is available is not in a disaggregated form for any one to bring out the profile of privilege and poverty existing side by side. For example, it is almost impossible to get figures on residence, land ownership, family income, life expectancy, and infant mortality, that are separated according to ethnic groups within Bolivia. The preceding are some of the important indicators of the existing affiliation/exclusion patterns within a society but, perhaps, for that very fact, societies seem to hide these data under the cloak of one nation, one people, working hand in hand to make greater and greater progress! Special ways of describing the world do present symbolic reconstructions of the world that hide important realities. Governments use statistics to reconstruct reality in ways that suit them.

Data and estimates, however, are available on Bolivia, that are disaggregated in terms of rural and urban categories; and once it is understood that the privileged (the blancos, and the mestizos) live in the cities and the poor (the Indians, also called the campesinos) live in the rural areas, a profile of political, social and economic injustice begins to take shape. Let us present some figures.[13]

Bolivia is primarily rural and poor. More than 70 percent of the population lives in rural areas, and only some 30 percent live in the cities. There is poverty in the urban areas also as the following data on income distribution should show:

Table 1. Estimates of Income Distribution in Bolivia and Latin America

	Population in Millions	Percentage Share of Income			
		Poorest 20%	Middle 60%	Top 5%	Next 15%
Latin America	244.8	4.1	37.9	31.5	26.5
Bolivia	5.2	2.5	32.5	31.5	33.5

Source: IBRD, "Current Economic Prospects for Bolivia," August, 19

The table shows that the upper one-fifth of the population in Bolivia receives 65 percent of the income. The per capita annual income is about $240 but the averages hide the dire poverty of most of the Indian populations whose per capita annual income may be below $50. They have low life expectancy, higher birth rates and high infant mortality and, while the revolution of 1952 gave some lands to the campesinos, they are generally without ownership of means of agricultural and industrial production.

The Distribution of Educational Goods in the Bolivian Society

The distribution of educational goods within the Bolivian society is also full of distortions. The 70 percent rural

population got only 33 percent of the national educational budget according to 1973 budget figures. While primary education is presumably free, a poor family in parts of LaPaz would still end up spending $12.40 per year on the average as direct costs and much more in terms of opportunity costs in sending one child to elementary school. Preparing children for school can thus be an awfully heavy burden for rural families.

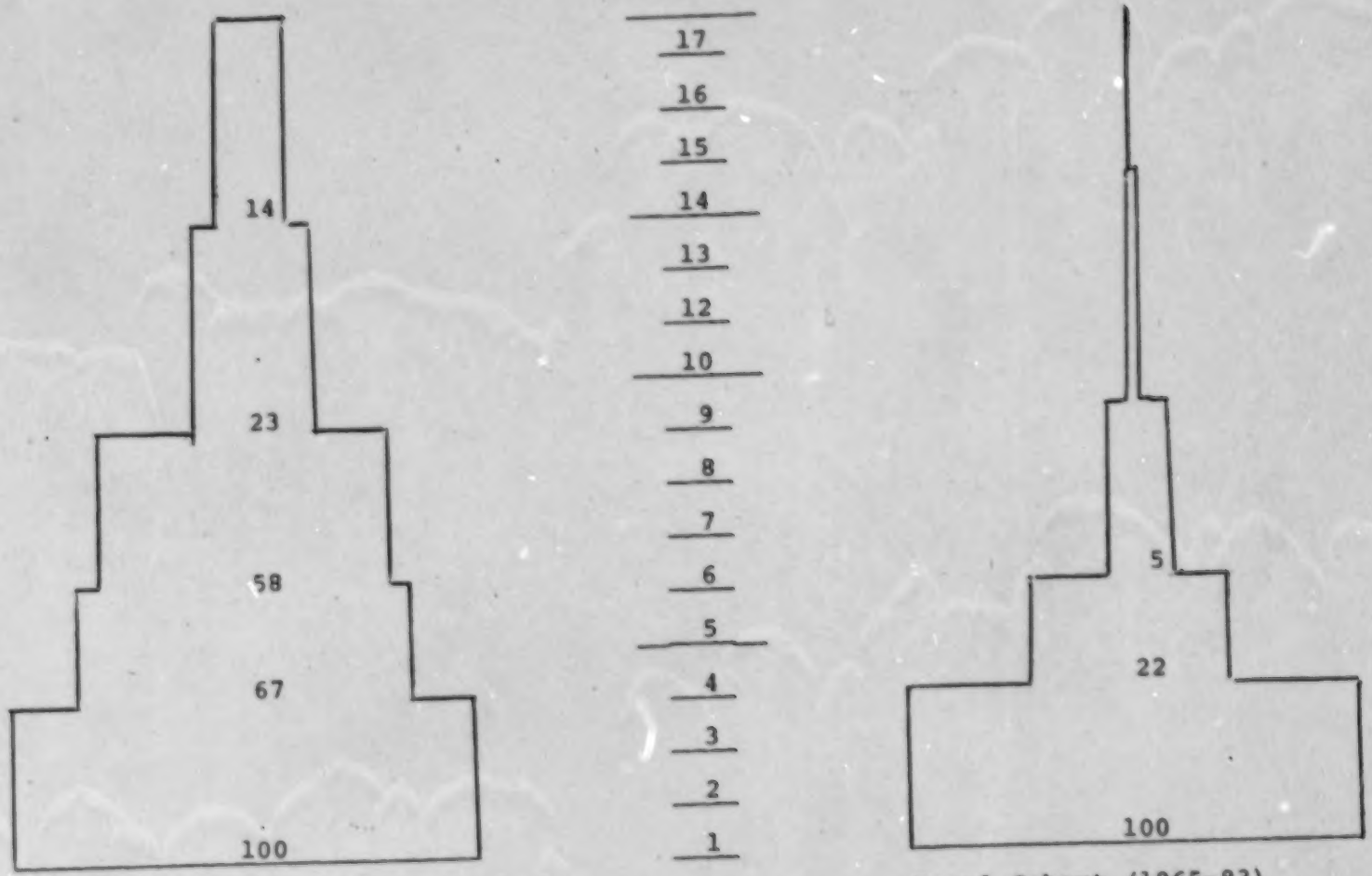
Many rural children do not go to school at all. The 42 percent who do go to school go to poor schools which have no buildings, no desks, no books, and no instructional materials. Most drop out, many others repeat the same grades year after year. Estimates are that in 1967 no more than 2-4 percent of the rural adult population might have had the opportunity to complete sixth grade.

For a rural child who made it through the primary school going to the secondary school is an infrequent event. In 1970, only 1,375 students were enrolled in rural secondary education as against 73,969 who were enrolled in urban secondary schools. The two pyramids on next page bring out rather dramatically the distribution of educational goods between the rural and urban populations in Bolivia today.

The New Aspirations

Before asking the question, What are the new aspirations? another set of questions could be asked: Why the new aspirations? What explains the new policy thrusts?

Table 2. Entry in 1st, 4th, 9th, and 13th year of Schooling in Bolivia by Rural and Urban Residence.



Urban Cohort (1965-83)

Rural Cohort (1965-83)

Let us not lose sight of the possibility that the elite in a society may make policy statements without any intention of implementing declared policies. They may make merely political use of policy enunciation. In some other cases, they may be genuine about their intents but may know fully well that their resources would never permit the implementation of stated policies. The elite may, however, still think that such policy declarations would be good for reinforcing national aspirations. That is, the elite may make symbolic use of policy.

The national policies of Bolivia, as we will see in the following, are stated in the name of the people. All the right words -- egalitarianism, removal of poverty, participation for every one in the national socioeconomic system -- are there. What has led to this, or more appropriately, what might have led to this? We offer some explanations:

Ideology alone at times can be a sufficient explanation why a group in power within a society and in control of a society's resources would want to change things and wish to affiliate the erstwhile excluded groups and classes to the national mainstream. History is not without instances where some elite groups fired by humanistic and egalitarian ideologies overthrew the systems of privilege their own forefathers had built or supported, and from which they themselves stood to derive privilege and power. The revolution of 1952 in Bolivia continues to provide to the

Bolivian masses and some elite groups, the ideological support for democracy, egalitarianism and economic justice.

Another explanation may lie in the environmental presses on this shrunk globe and especially the socio-political ideals presented by such bodies as UNESCO, UNICEF, Interamerican Development Bank (IDB), The World Bank (IRD) and governments of countries, such as U.S., Great Britain, Germany and France.

It is also possible that the Bolivian elite are borrowing policy models, and money to implement these models, without really understanding their far-reaching implications or without worrying about them in the short run.

A part of the explanation for the new Bolivian aspirations (both for the society in general and for education) may be found in the radicalization of the church in South America. While nothing very dramatic has happened in and through the Church in Bolivia, events elsewhere in Latin America have cast their long shadows on the Bolivian landscape.

Finally, but most importantly, an explanation for the new aspirations may be found in the pressures from the new instrumental elite who were affiliated into the system as mere instrumentalities of the Spanish elite but now have acquired such power that they can insist on further affiliation of the people they themselves have sprung from. For example, the soldiery in Bolivia is made up of the

indigenous Indians. These Indian soldiers carry arms, drive army trucks, man the small tanks, and sometimes fly aeroplanes. The system, therefore, has to be legitimized in the name of the common man, even though the soldiery as coopted instrumental elite, have no strong identifications with the interests of the masses, and are indeed used for keeping the unjust system functioning.

A parallel situation holds for the trade unions for miners and rural and urban school teachers. At one point in history these unions were created by the Spanish political elite as pawns in their battles with each other -- one elite group trying to fend against another contending elite to stay in power. However, once unionization came about, the instrumental elite (the Indian teachers and Indian miners) found an organized instrument in their hands that they could use to negotiate with the power elite, the Spanish. This might be another explanation why the Bolivian elite are talking of a Bolivia in terms of the common man and stating national aspirations in their terms.

Having speculated about the question of "Why the new aspirations?" one should ask -- "What are those new aspirations?"

The National Policies of Bolivia

Normally, to get an answer to a question like this one would use various approaches. One could go to the constitution of the country and take note of the aspirations codified in

the constitution. One could go to the records of discussions in the parliament and see how the legislative elite are translating the aspirations embodied in the constitution into day-to-day policy. One could study important judicial statements, and court judgments. One could also perhaps go to the statements made by the contending elite to understand in what terms the regime is being criticized. Again, one could go to the "state of the union" messages, to the budget speeches of presidents, to the annual reports of prime ministers and other ministers of cabinets to understand the adaptations of policy over time to meet newly emergent needs.

Not many of these approaches seem feasible in the case of Bolivia. The constitution is suspended and the country is governed by decrees. The president does not present to the country the state of the union messages. There are no budget sessions in which the head of the state unfolds policy. There is no planning commission that makes five year plans or undertakes any other kind of perspective planning.

Policy making is done through speaches of the President and policy is formalized for the governmental institutional structures by official decrees. The closest one can come to national aspirations is "development for all, and opportunity for each citizen to participate in the life of the country." Aspirations in education and in nonformal education have similarly to be surmized and can be stated

only in general terms. One thus faces a policy world of absolute flux. In it are the echoes of the 1952 revolution, the assertions of Presidential decrees tumbling one over the other, the protestations of special interest groups, the rhetoric of internationalism and brotherhood of man generated by U.N. consultants visiting Bolivia. The result is that policy making process is in no way ordered and systematic. The issues are not well defined and their implications never really faced. For example, no one asks the question: Do we want a multicultural pluralistic society or do we want assimilation of the majority into the minority culture? Different sets of policies must be followed to actualize one vision or the other. As it is, the country goes through an incremental process of "borrowing" policies rather than making them.

Nonformal Education Policies of the Bolivian Government

As in most other countries nonformal education programs are spread all through the governmental institutional structure and some of these programs spill over to the private sector. The Ministry of Education conducts some programs of nonformal education but it is not alone. Significant programs of nonformal education are implemented by the Ministry of Campesino Affairs and Agriculture which supervises the Community Development programs and the work

of the National Colonization Institute. The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labor also offer nonformal education programs.

The Universities organize some community service and literacy training as do the Church and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The role of radio, newspaper, film, museums, and libraries should also be noted in nonformal education, as also the nonformal education resulting from universal conscription and, in turn, that offered through the civic education programs organized by those conscripted in the army.

It is impossible to get an idea of the size of the enterprise of nonformal education or of its impact on the life of the communities in Bolivia. The problem exists at various levels -- conceptual, institutional, and budgetary. One can, however, find a more or less cogent treatment of "adult education" in the most recent Diagnosis[14] issued by the Bolivian Ministry of Education. The Diagnosis addresses a separate volume to adult education (Educacion De Adultos, 115 pages) on which some comments are made in the following.

Adult Education

The question should be asked -- Does the volume on adult education included in the Diagnosis constitute the adult education policy of the government of Bolivia? The

answer clearly is in the negative. It merely is a status report developed by some minor officials of the Ministry of Education who are presently responsible for adult education in the ministry.

A closer examination of this report will show that it is a mere combination of borrowed words, superficial regrets, and narrow bureaucratic visions.

The report begins by regretfully suggesting that neither the Education Code nor the reform of 1970 established a solid conception of the future of adult education, with the result that adult education has only received a "political definition." The writers of the document, however, suggest "that adult education orient itself to providing the adult both (a) a greater consciousness of himself and of his cosmological reality, and (b) the necessary knowledge, capabilities and skills to improve his productivity and standard of living.

"Consequently, the functional character of adult education in Bolivia should respond to the following ends:

(a) To develop the capacity of the adult to understand his own reality and reorganize the cultural values of the local and national community;

(b) To form a liberating consciousness and favorable attitudes toward the social integration of the people, by way of community and family life in the local, regional, and national area;

(c) To have the knowledge, to develop the abilities and skills that permit the adult to increase productivity

in the field of labor, artisanry and agriculture so that he improves his living conditions and contributes to the socioeconomic development of the country."

One would be struck by the echoes of Paulo Freire's conscientization and of the brave (and inspiring) words of Unesco's Learning to Be in these statements. Yet the operational translations of these aspirations as offered by the authors of Educacion De Adultos is, finally, in narrow terms of "accelerated education at basic, middle and superior school levels." They end up pointing "the urgent necessity of redefining the ends, objectives and goals of a program; to make a plan of action which would permit the articulation, coordination and integration of the three levels of adult education: EBA, IBA, and CEMA." For those who know the meanings of these three abbreviations,[15] this is a great let-down! They are equating adult education with a second chance for primary education.

In a very real sense, then, adult education in Bolivia when offered is offered by institutions that are not ostensibly educational. That is a sad realization.

Institutional Analysis

This is indeed a dismal picture of the present. What are the possibilities for the future? Considering that the policy intentions of the elite are genuine, would the existing and proposed systems of action actually have the capacity to deliver nonformal education to client groups

and communities for whom it is intended? Will resources be available?

The script for a most likely future seems not to be very promising. Nothing dramatic is likely to happen in the next ten years that would result in a large scale conscientization of the masses that they would demand a place in the sun and expenditures on nonformal education from the central budget. The policy debri from the century or more of attention to formal education has cluttered the educational policy sector with schools, and teachers and administrators who would not just go away. They would not surrender the resources they are now consuming and they are organized to get more of what might be available. Nonformal education will expand only on the basis of new and uncommitted resources being available.

The configuration of influence is likely to be the following. The army, the teacher unions and the miners would continue to force the power elite to paint an egalitarian vision of future Bolivia. The power elite would indeed make accomodations in their program to speak to the needs of the rural masses, mostly Indians. But they would do more for the mestizos and the Indians who are already part of the instrumental elite (as soldiers, workers, miners, and teachers) rather than for the unaffiliated farmers, shepherds, or the women who spin wool as they walk home after a back-breaking day of work in the fields.

Some of the advances in nonformal education may result from an international goal setting. If Unesco continues to talk about education for the underprivileged, and especially about nonformal education; and if neighboring countries in South America keep on talking about nonformal education and of nonformal educational inputs in development, Bolivia would also be shamed into supporting nonformal education programs. Some money will come in the wake of the rhetoric of nonformal education. Unesco, no doubt, will send some experts and some material assistance. USAID will give some loans and judging from the phrases in USAID documents they will seek to help the rural poor -- which would mean some substantive services to the rural areas and some nonformal education.

One could indeed stay away from prophesizing, and ask a more narrow question: Even with the best of intentions and with the availability of needed resources, does Bolivia have the institutional capacity for delivering the needed nonformal services to communities?

The answer seems to be a clarion clear, "No."

Institutional Capacity

Gene Lamb in his dissertation, "A Study of the Administrative Capacity of the Bolivian Education System,"[16] studied the institutional capacity of the Bolivian formal education system in 1969. His conclusions were unpromising.

Six years later in 1975, things have not changed drastically; in fact things have not changed much at all. In the area of institutional capacity for nonformal education, hardly any experience at all exists in Bolivia.

The Promise and Hope:

Grassroot Institutions

The institutionalization of nonformal education could try innovative solutions. It need not have a bureaucracy such as one that exists in the area of formal education. In this area one can think of a system of action which includes at least four elements:

1. Communication Media,
2. Grassroot Organizations,
3. Intermediate Institutions, and
4. Governmental Support Systems.

Communication Media

The media, especially radio and newspapers, constitute a sector of hope and promise for the delivery of nonformal education in Bolivia. The Mohammed Reza Pahlavi Honorable Mention of Radio Fides, Bolivia in 1974 is a straw in the wind. The possibilities are inexhaustible and resources and structures for radio use already exist. Needed is the national will.

Grassroot Organizations

The Incas and the Aymaras have often been credited with creating well-functioning grassroot institutions. These living systems should be understood and regenerated to undertake the educational functions for a new learning society.

Intermediate Institutions

There is also scope for creating intermediate institutions, a combination of the informal social organization and the more formalized bureaucratic models. Warisata is often mentioned as being such an institution and its success is often analysed in terms of its being an intermediate institution.

Governmental Support Systems

This should not, however, suggest a total elimination of the role of the government in the development of systems of action for nonformal education. The government should assume a collaborative role. It should not first destroy what exists and then build a new system from the above, without roots. A national elite group should develop a national vision but instead of creating a total hierarchical administrative system to implement that vision, it should help existing community institutions to undertake new roles and functions. Resources should be supplemented in ways that can be best handled by a central facilities: by establishing communication infrastructures, providing staff

training and teaching materials all adding up to a national vision of cultural pluralism, local initiative, and a world community. There will still be need to train those working for the governmental bureaucracies in secular vision and public service orientation to enable them to serve the people. But the task will be different in size, scope and intentions.

In summary, the establishment of a fully functioning delivery system for nonformal education in Bolivia is not out of reach if political will exists. In some ways, since no structure exists now, innovative structural approaches are more possible in nonformal education than within the formal system. That is the ray of hope in an otherwise gloomy situation.

Conclusions

As I have gone through the process of a policy analysis of nonformal education in Bolivia, I have had serious misgivings about it all and have searched for a raison d'etre, first, for engaging in and then for continuing with this exercise. What is the use I have been asking myself? I can certainly justify the exercise in personal terms. As a student of educational change and development, I am interested in policy analysis and in nonformal education, especially adult education and literacy. I have had the opportunity of working on a project of administrative reform

in Bolivia which took me to Bolivia on three different occasions for short periods of time when I have had some fruitful and enjoyable time. I have had the opportunity of seeing some of Bolivia and Bolivian education first-hand. As an academic in the business of learning and teaching, I should organize and systematise my personal experiences and examine what these experiences add up to.

The situation I have described is bad, the prognosis is even gloomy. To the Bolivan power elite finding oil, exporting tin, buying weapons keeping order in the midst of uprisings is what is important. They are unlikely to be concerned with the issue of adult education or bother about policy analyses of nonformal education. The Bolivian educators, in themselves, a highly politicized group, would of course move with the winds. The status quo will continue unless some unusual break comes through.

There is a ray of hope. Somethings can happen. Initiatives and resources may come from USAID and some UN-affiliated agency or the World Bank. These initiatives may mate with the rhetoric of national aspirations. One of the offsprings of this mating of ideas may be nonformal education. Then the Bolivian educators would have the opportunity to work on it. They might even accomplish something.

The preceding thus suggests some possible usefulness for an exercise such as the present one. It might suggest

to those working for bilateral and multilateral agencies the need for selective mating of their own ideas on development with the Bolivian national aspirations. They might also do some cloning such that a systematic and sizeable effort in nonformal education is forthcoming.

It might also suggest to practicing adult educators everywhere that for success, or even modest success, they would have to relate adult education efforts to structural changes in Bolivian economy and politics. There has to be a national will to do something and the willingness to commit resources to the new tasks. Also new technologies will have to be used. Adult education is not merely schooling for those who missed school when they were young. All development need not be through literacy provided by schools or literacy classes. The non-literate, surely, can understand our messages in health education, agricultural extension, family planning and cooperative if we care to explain, teach and demonstrate. Radio and TV might do more than the literacy primer and the followup reading materials.

Finally, this paper may have some limited use within the community of students and teachers of comparative and international education. It presents a definition of policy that relates policy to public concerns, to the distribution of power within societies. It presents an approach to the definition of policy analysis which while permitting formal and moral arguments, forces analysis of political and

institutional aspects of a stated policy. It indeed suggests an approach to the comparative study of educational systems -- the approach of policy analysis.

Insofar as this is a policy analysis of nonformal education, the paper should interest the adult educator. It applies a conceptualization of policy and policy analysis to nonformal education. While we would have liked to have more substantial data on Bolivia to display and discuss in this paper, we have suggested perhaps an important approach to policy analysis of nonformal education in other systems: to clear the air, to call off the bluff where the elite intentions might be bad, to bring about commitments where new commitments might be necessary to promote nonformal education to create learning societies where both the young and the old learn and grow.

Notes and References

1. H.S. Bhola, "The Design of (Educational) Policy: Directing and Harnessing Social Power for Social Outcomes," a paper presented to the Indiana University Educational Policy Conference, Bloomington, Indiana, November 21-23, 1974, 25 pages. The Conference proceedings, to include eight papers, will be available in the form of a special issue of Viewpoints (Bulletin of the School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana) as Vol. 51, No. 3 (May, 1975), H.S. Bhola -- guest editor.

2. Ibid., page 15.

3. Ibid.

4. H.S. Bhola, "Notes Toward a Theory: Cultural Action as Elite Initiatives in Affiliation/Exclusion," Viewpoints, Vol. 48, No. 3 (May, 1972), pages 1-37.

5. The concepts of partial and full affiliations have been developed in Bhola's Affiliation/Exclusion Model, op. cit., pages 21-22.

6. The elaborations of political analysis and institutional analysis presented here are adapted from the document, "Questions a Policy Analyst Should Ask," developed by the author for use in his seminar in Educational Policy Studies (H620) given through the department of Historical, Philosophical, and Comparative Studies in Education, School of Education, Indiana University at Bloomington.

7. Philip H. Coombs, The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

8. Ivan D. Illich, Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

9. This is not just what the shaken-up educators are saying. This is also the new creed of the World Bank economists. It is being asserted that "educational systems in developing countries are all too often ill-conceived and are not adapted to their development needs." Also that, without the new shift to nonformal education, the developing countries "face a choice between a standard system serving only 30-40 per cent of the children, and an alternative which aims at providing some kind of education for all." Quoted from "World Bank Focuses on Educating Poor," The New York Times, December 29, 1974.

10. R. J. Kleis, Ch. L. Lang, J. R. Mietus and F. T. S. Tiapula, "Toward a Contextual Definition of Non-Formal Education," Program of Studies in Non-Formal Education Discussion Papers, No. 2, Michigan State University, 1973, p. 6.

11. Ibid., pages 6-7.

12. Thomas R. Wolanin, Federal Education Policy Making in the United States: The Case of Higher Education," paper presented to the Indiana University Educational Policy Conference held in Bloomington, Indiana, during November 21-23, 1974, 40 pages. See also reference (1) above.

13. The figures and statements used in the following sections of the paper, unless otherwise stated, are from Education in

Bolivia: A Preliminary Sector Assessment prepared by The U.S. AID Mission to Bolivia (May 1974).

14. Ministerio de Educacion y Cultura, Direcion Nationale de Planificacion Educativa: Diagnostico Integral de la Educacion, La Paz, 1973-74.

15. EBA stands for Literary and Accelerated Basic Education; CEMA for Adult Middle Education; and IBA stands for the Bolivian Institute of Learning.

16. Gene Lamb, A Study of the Administrative Capacity of the Bolivian Education System. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1969.